1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others 661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

● 65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban [369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid [875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar- [758] rangement [*kondoia*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in- [465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our [793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were [124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points. [701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a different administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental services enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area.
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco.
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[12]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government carries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A final difficulty lies in inadequate personnel and equipment to do many of the highly technical governmental tasks as they should be done. Engineers who are responsible for numerous activities in many villages may not have transportation facilities sufficient to visit these villages as often as would be desirable. Those responsible for accounting and fiscal matters may not have sufficient clerical help to keep up with the work load, thereby delaying reports or requests from local governments.[14]

But despite these difficulties, I would place the crux of the problem of the relationship between local and central government in the attitudes which the officials assume toward villagers and even townspeople. There is something about being an official in Greece that tends to make one officious. The officeholder may not realize this but, as he takes on the roles that go with a new governmental position, he tries to carry an air of authority that does not quite ring true, or else he tries to bolster up his feeling of insecurity by lording it over those who are in some measure under his control. He preserves his own *philotimo*, or self-esteem, by clinging to all the symbols of prestige to the bitter end. I could want no better documentation of this state of affairs than a notice distributed in November 1952 by the Minister of Agriculture, which appeared on the walls of the director of agriculture in Kozane. It read:

Mr. Director:

1. Don't forget that we are the servants of the people.
2. Don't forget that your pay comes from the work and the sweat of the people.
3. Please be polite and just to the people and your employees.
4. Keep working hours; do not go away during working hours which are for the public.
5. Reply willingly and quickly to requests and petitions of the people. "Come by tomorrow" is not accepted.

People — Farmers:

1. Do not ask for illegal things but demand your rights.
2. If you do not get your rights or have complaints write to Complaints Office of the Ministry and you will get a quick reply.
3. Even then, if you don't get justice, write directly to me.

Minister of Agriculture, A. Apostolidis

In official Athens, over the past few years, there has been many a tug of war, sometimes silent and sometimes raucous, between those who would decentralize many functions of government to the local units and those who, for a variety of reasons, would maintain strong central control. It is safe to say that those who favor the former course are those who think of government chiefly as an administrative apparatus through which citizens' needs are met. Certainly, many members of the American Mission have

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 178 653 During this same September 1959 visit I had occasion to review, as on a previous occasion, the community-development program of the Save the Children Federation, an American organization. It contributes its funds, set aside for community development, only if the adults of the community agree to make contributions of their own (labor, materials, money) to the construction of a better school, the installation of a public water supply, the planting of a school orchard, or the construction of a dock to bring economic advantages to an otherwise bypassed coastal village.

177 178 [65] Anyone trying to cover completely the numerous programs designed to change village life for the better would find them springing up in a variety of places. The official government programs, each under one of the ministries, cover a wide range of activities. Agriculture is more adequately represented than health, education more than social welfare, and economic programs more than recreational programs. But this emphasis is not unexpected in a rural setting. All official American programs, being governmental, work through the Greek ministries and agencies. Next, in drawing up a comprehensive list, one could chronicle the quasi-governmental programs such as those embodied in the King's Fund and the Queen's Fund, the Volunteer Nursing Corps, and similar bodies. In addition to these, there are numerous groups started and managed by public-spirited Greek citizens interested in rural improvement. These range from agricultural education to reforestation to preservation of the folk arts. To those already found could be added the programs of a variety of international agencies, such as UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as the very active International Red Cross. Finally, one could include a large assortment of private efforts sponsored by organizations from several European countries as well as Canada and the United States. Such organizations might be religious in nature, strictly welfare, or a combination of both.

No wonder, then, that the Greek villager becomes confused about who promises what and fails to deliver, or whom to thank for a bundle of clothes received in the mail. No wonder that he sometimes is nonplussed about what government official to wait upon. If he is a community president, he will probably visit his nomarch, but the chances are that the nomarch is not altogether versed in the number of programs intent upon effecting change in the villages under his supervision.

178 More than ever before, the Greek villager's way of life has become a target of change. In this sense, he typifies efforts being made in other countries and on other continents to move people from an archaic to a modern style of life, and to help them realize expectations and hopes of which they are only now becoming aware.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Conditions in Greece in 1947 (New York, 1948), p. 111. For a report done ten years later for the same sponsor by one of the earlier authors, see William Hardy McNeill, *Greece: American Aid in Action: 1947–1956* (New York, 1957).

7. See the mimeographed village studies done by the Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (Athens, October 1951).

8. John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," p. 23.

9. United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on Greek Local Government, 1952* (Athens, Civil Government Division, 1952), pp. 16–17 (mimeographed).

10. An excellent statement of the problem is found in United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on the Decentralization of Greek Government Services* (Athens, Civil Government Division, June 1953), mimeographed.

11. C. A. Munkman, *American Aid to Greece: A Report on the First Ten Years* (New York, 1958), p. 254. Munkman served for four years as chief of a unit in the United States Economic Mission to Greece which had the responsibility for investigating the effectiveness of expenditures in our aid program.

12. Photiadis, "The Coffee House."

13. Three documents which proved particularly helpful were prepared by O. P. Traylor, Local Tax Specialist, United States Mission: Economic Cooperation Administration, *The Financing of Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 70 (mimeographed, n.d.); *Summary Analysis of New Interim Local Finance Law* (E. L. 1910/1951, Official Gazette 221), memorandum to Director, FP Division (typed), August 10, 1951, 14 pp.; *Significance of Survey of Turkish Local Finance . . . for Financing Greek Local Units of Government*, memorandum to Joel W. C. Harper, Chief, Public Finance Section, FP Division (mimeographed), September 12, 1951, 18 pp.

14. One of the most penetrating analyses of Greek governmental administration and its problems was made by a Greek at the request of the Greek government: *Report on the Greek Economic Problem*, by Kyriakos Varvaressos (English translation, Washington, D.C., February 12, 1952, mimeographed). He cites five characteristics of the administration: excessive number of employees, particularly in the center; indifference to public interest; lowered standards through appointments of unqualified personnel; narrow bureaucratic spirit; total incapacity and willingness to meet responsibilities imposed on it by the granting of foreign aid. In fairness to all concerned, however, it should be pointed out that this was written in 1952, when Greece was trying to recover from the wounds of war.

15. These are excerpts appearing in the *Athens News*, September 17, 1952. For those preferring a happier note, the following *New York Times* item, December 12, 1955, will prove of interest:

Athens, Dec. 11. Premier Constantin Karamanlis has announced a plan by which free medicines will be made available to 4,000,000 Greek peasants. The plan is expected to become effective at once.

Mr. Karamanlis also announced that his Government had decided to compensate peasants whose beasts of burden had been requisitioned by the State for war purposes since 1942.

The Premier said 120,000,000 drachmas ($4,000,000) had been earmarked in the 1955–56 budget for this ambitious welfare plan. Other Government decisions announced were to increase allocations for land improvement projects; to put aside larger amounts for middle-term loans to the peasantry; and to install a cotton press in Salonika.

16. An account in *Harper's Magazine* in 1872 on "Political Characteristics of Modern Greeks" has a most up-to-date ring. Charles Cheston, in his *Greece in 1887* (London, 1887), points out traits which survive to the present, as does William Miller in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905). Especially appropriate are the comments by Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929), in the section on "The Greatness of the Greeks."

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 in his *In the Mountains of Greece*, has mentioned that he found only one village in the Peloponnesus which did not produce an English-speaking inhabitant.

2. These references are to John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and Its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1956) p. 41.

3. See Near East Foundation, *et al.*, village studies (Athens, 1951–52).

4. Photiadis, p. 42.

5. This description by Dorothy Lee will be found in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), pp. 60–61 (Mentor edition).

6. V. T. Valassis, "The Living Past and Technical Change," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1956), p. 16.

7. The reader familiar with contemporary social theory will quickly note the extent to which these observations derive from Emile Durkheim and those sociologists who work in his tradition.

8. Photiadis, p. 84.

9. From the village study by T. K. Papaspyropoulos, "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished manuscript.

Chapter XVI. Social Change in Rural Greece

1. The three types of social change used here are adapted from N. F. Washburne, *Interpreting Social Change in America* (Garden City, 1954).

2. See Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities; Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey* (New York, 1939).

[124] 3. In almost every one of my hundreds of interviews during an eleven-month period in Greece, I touched on the topic of social change. In a country such as Greece, one cannot understand the present without a knowledge of what has changed. A summarizing chapter such as this cannot fully convey the deep emotional overtones surrounding the discussion of what it was like to flee as a child from Asia Minor, to have one's village occupied by an Axis army, or to experience the fury of Communist guerrillas on the run.

4. A. C. de Vooys and J. J. C. Piket, "A Geographical Analysis of Two Villages in the Peloponnesos," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, LXXV (1958), 44–45.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

6. This figure is much more favorable to the villagers than that prevailing between the two world wars. In the Balkans generally during that time, the proportion of peasants was higher and their share of the total national income lower than the figures here cited in the text.

7. Ernestine Friedl, "The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece," *The American Anthropologist*, LXI (1959), 31.

8. An excellent though brief description of some of the most important programs of planned social change in rural Greece through the 1950s is found in the mimeographed paper entitled "Community Development Programs and Policies in Greece," prepared for the Eastern Mediterranean Study Tour on Community Development (Athens, 1955). Among other things, it tells of the merger into a Small Common Utility Projects program of four previous programs: the Agricultural Land Improvement Program, the Small Sanitary Projects Program, the Relief through Employment Program (under the Ministry of Welfare), and the Small Community Projects Program (under the Ministry of Interior). The third program particularly has created much international interest. See Glen Leet, "Greece Finds One Key to Development," *United Nations Bulletin*, X (1951); Paul H. Guenault and Howard W. Beers, *Community Development Programmes in Greece with Special Consideration of Welfare Through Employment* (New York, United Nations, 1953).

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.